Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /059 W

-----081029Z 069816 /20

R 071742Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9247

DIA

INFO USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR

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USDELMC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T NOFORN MADRID 1728

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, MARR, SP

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SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO--SPANISH WAR COLLEGE (CESEDEN) STUDY

REF: MADRID 058 (DTG041816Z JAN 77)

1. THE REFERENCED TELGRAM REPORTED, SHORTLY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPANISH WAR COLLEGE STUDY ON NATO, THAT THE STUDY REACHED, ON BALANCE, A POSITIVE CONCLUSION WITH RESPECT TO

SPANISH MEMBERSHIP.

- 2. THIS INFORMATION HAS BEEN FURTHER CONFIRMED IN THE INTERIM. FOR EXAMPLE, THE DIRECTOR OF STUDIES AT CESEDEN, IN INDICATING RECENTLY TO EMBOFF THAT A REPORT ON THE CESEDEN STUDY WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE DATT BY THE HIGH GENRAL STAFF, STATED AGAIN THAT THE STUDY'S CONCLUSION WAS QUITE POSITIVE. HE INDICATED THAT THE TWO MAIN SPANISH CONCERNS WITH REPSECT TO MEMBERSHIP HIGHLIGHTED IN THE REPORT WERE (A) FIRST AND FOREMOST, FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE, AND (B) SECOND, ENTERING THE ALLIANCE, IN SPIRIT AS WELL AS IN SUBSTANCE, AS A FULLY EQUAL MEMBER. HE DESCRIBED OTHER SPANISH CONCERNS AS QUESTIONS OF NEGOTIATION.
- 3. ON MARCH 7, THE DATT RECEIVED FROM THE HIGH GENERAL STAFF THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION, ENTITLED "SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OR ASSOCIATION WITH NATO--A SUMMARY OF THE STUDY CARRIED OUT BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE 13TH MONOGRAPHIC COURSE OF CESEDEN (DECEMBER 1976)"-- A DOCUMENT DATED MARCH, 1977. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS DOCUMENT REPRESENTS A TRUE SUMMARY OF THE STUDY OR ONE PREPARED SPECIFICALLY FOR US CONSUMPTION, BUT WE INCLINE TOWARD THE LATTER POSSIBLITY AFTER DIGESTING THE CONTENTS.
- 4. HIGHLIGHTED IN THIS BRIEF SUMMARY ARE THE THEMES THAT SPANISH MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE EXTREMELY VALUABLE FOR THE ALLIANCE, INDEED THAT SPAIN IS "STRATEGICALLY IRREPLACEABLE" FOR THE ALLIANCE; THAT NOAT IS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE; THAT SPAIN AS A NATO MEMBER MIGHT FIND THE ALLIANCE MORE INTERESTED IN USE OF HER TERRITORY, AIR SPACE, AND INSTALLATIONS THAN IN THE SPANISH SECRET

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CONTRIBUTION PER SE; THAT THE EXISTING FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN SPAIN MAKES SPAIN AN IMPORTANT NUCLEAR TARGET; THAT TO WIN OVER SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION THERE WOULD NEED TO BE "PRACTICAL, TANGIBLE BENEFITS" OVER AND ABOVE THOSE RELATED TO SPAIN'S MILITARY DEFENSE; BUT THAT THE BALANCES OF PLUSES AND MINUSES IN THE POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC FILEDS WERE NOT NOW DETERMINING SINCE THEY WOULD DEPEND ON THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE SUMMARY CONCLUDES ON THE NOTE THAT NOW, IN ANY EVENT, IS NOT MOMENT FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS THE FLUIDITY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

5. COMMENT: THIS IS HARDLY THE UNMISTAKABLY POSITIVE CONCLUSION THAT WE HAVE INFORMALLY BEEN GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND WAS REACHED BY THEY PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY. IT HAS SOMEWHAT MORE THE RING OF A STATEMNT IN PREPARATION FOR NEGOTIATIONS--PERHPAS A CONFIRMATION OF SORTS THAT THE STUDY ITSELF DID REACH A FAVORABLE CONCLUSION.

 $6.\,\mathrm{FULLY}$ TEXT WILL BE DISTRIBUTED BOTH BY IR (DIA) AND BY AIRGRAM TO OTHER ADDRESSEES.EATON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a **Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED**

Concepts: MEMBERSHIP, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS, MILITARY SCHOOLS, STUDIES, RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ORGS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 07-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am Decaption Note:

Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition Event:
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MADRID01728
Document Source: CORE

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Expiration: Film Number: D770079-0242

Format: TEL

From: MADRID

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770386/aaaacydm.tel

Line Count: 118 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c85281bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION EUR

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: 77 MADRID 58

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 30-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 3188108 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: SPAIN AND NATO--SPANISH WAR COLLEGE (CESEDEN) STUDY

TAGS: MARR, SP, NATO To: STATE DIA

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c85281bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009